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NSC BRIEFING

11 April 1953

#### COMMUNIST CHINA

- I. Leadership one of the most self-assured in bloc.
  - A. Mao crows that "the east wind is prevailing over the west wind."
  - B. Regime has intimidated last year's critics.
  - C. Peiping now poised for "giant leap forward" in economic development.
- II. Soviet missile successes gave important morale lift to Peiping, buttressing its belief in wisdom of Sino-Soviet alliance.
  - A. Chinese hailed Soviet achievements as "turning point" in the East-West race.
  - B. In Moscow last November, Mao indicated he supported Khrushcaev in latter's bid for leadership.
  - C. Mao sided more generally with Russians rather than with Poles on intra-bloc relations.
  - D. Chinese delegations in Moscow at that time probably exerted pressure on Moscow for obtaining advanced weapons.
- III. Peiping energetically pushing for international acceptance.
  - A. Chinese troops being withdrawn from Korea as promised.
  - B. Peiping calls for international meetings requiring Chinese Communist participation, e.g., conference on Korea, collective peace pact for Asia, Asian atom-free zone.
    - 1. Peiping interested in participating in Summit conference, but not demanding it.

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- C. Peiping skillfully exploits trade issue to draw other countries into official relations.
  - 1. Sino-Japanese trade agreement provided for permanent Peiping trade office in Tokyo with right to fly flag.
- D. Peiping promotes impression of dynamic China by its ability to extend aid to other underdeveloped countries.
  - 1. Grants to bloc countries (North Korea, North Vietnam, (Auter Mongolia, and Hungary) total \$740,000,000.
  - 2. Grants and loans to nonbloc countries (Ceylon, Cambodia, Indonesia, Yemen, Nepal, Egypt, and Burma) total over \$100,000,000.
- E. Peiping's talk of "liberating" Taiwan has dropped off.
  - 1. But it still insists that Taiwan belongs to Communist China.

    Adamantly rejects "two China's" solutions.
  - 2. Charges US encourages "two China's" concept as way out of its China policy impasse.
  - 3. Chou En-lai stated privately Peiping would refuse UN membership if Nationalists also represented.
- IV. Domestic policy marked by reversion to hard line after short-lived liberalization experiment in first part of 1957.
  - A. Fervor of criticisms by intellectuals suprised regime.
  - B. Regime reacted by campaign of intimidation but no mass executions.
  - C. Government shakeup resulted in ousters of non-Communist critics, including three men at cabinet level.
  - D. Party purge now under way expected to expel up to five percent of membership.

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- V. Peiping has redoubled effort in mass indoctrination. Adoption of phonetic alphabet is step with long-run significance.
  - A. Campaign will not be completed in near future.
  - B. But regime intends to push relentlessly for eventual wide use of Latin alphabet to replace complicated ideographs.
  - C. This will help Chicoms lick problem of illiteracy.
  - D. It will promote national unity and simplify administration.
- VI. Overt resistance to regime virtually disappeared.
  - A. Ethnic minorities -- notably Tibetans -- are the exceptions.
  - B. However minority dissidence does not require large scale military operations. Minorities inhabit vast area but are few in number only 6% of the population.
  - C. Private enterprise in towns virtually eliminated.
  - D. Bulk of peasantry has accepted collectivization despite disillusionment with promises of better living.
- VII. On economic front, Peiping has just celebrated the "triumphant materialization" of First Five Year Plan (1953-1957).
  - A. Plan targets by and large achieved, petroleum and edible oils being principal exceptions.
  - B. Many new items--trucks, jet and conventional aircraft, naval vessels--were produced for first time in China.
- VIII. Draft of Second Five Year Plan not yet completed, but indications are that tentative targets already being upped.
  - A. Slogan is to surpass UK in output of steel and other industrial products in 15 years or less.
  - B. Plans for current year are ambitious, yet Peiping already extracting pladges of substantial overfulfillment.

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- IX. Regime seems increasingly cognizant of population growth as impediment to rapid industrialization.
  - A. Regime finds itself forced to divert investment funds to agriculture—is investing 40% more in agriculture this year than last (although still only 14% of total investment).
  - B. Investment in industries supporting agriculture up sharply.
  - C. Despite ideological antipathy to Malthusian theory, Peiping now urging birth control, but not yet forcefully enough to arrest rapid population growth.
- X. Peiping's prospects heartening to bloc.
  - A. Chinese Titoism improbable in foreseeable future. Moscow alert to Chinese sensibilities, and Peiping highly vocal in endorsement of USSR.
  - B. With or without formal diplomatic recognition, Peiping will expand official relations with other countries.
  - C. Regime's control over population should be further consolidated.
    - 1. Mao's death could result in struggle for succession, but collegial leadership will probably govern initially.
    - 2. Liu Shao-chi (#2 man in party) and Chou En-lai (premier) are now top figures after Mao; but watch Teng Hsiao-ping (secretary general of party) who has come up rapidly.

      Defense Minister Peng Te-huai also powerful.
  - D. Economy should do as well under Second Five Year Plan as under first. Agricultural production is expected at least to keep pace with population increase.